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(*kakda fale*); descendants of the other brothers are simply called middle [613
ones.

Second, there are the Male Houses (*nawg fale*). This is a literal trans- [602
lation of the native term. Each individual has six Male Houses, which [604
will be designated in this volume as Male House I, Male House II, and [612
so on. These relationships are reckoned as follows: *Male House I*, the ego's mother's brother and male offspring; *Male House II*, father's Male House I (i.e., father's mother's brother and male descendants); *Male House III*, mother's Male House I (i.e., mother's mother's brother and male descendants); *Male House IV*, father's Male House II (i.e., father's father's mother's brother and male descendants); *Male House V*, mother's Male House II (i.e., mother's father's mother's brother and male descendants); *Male House VI*, father's Male House III (i.e., father's mother's mother's brother and male descendants).

It becomes obvious at once that the mother's brother is the stressed relationship but that it is stressed bilaterally with a slight weighting on the paternal side. Another aspect of this kin group is that it includes [602
all the bilaterally reckoned lineages other than ego's for three ascending [612
generations on the father's side and two ascending generations on the mother's side. It is to be noted that every son has slightly different Male House affiliations from his father. The Male Houses function in ex- [764
change relationships especially in connection with death services. A full [497]
description of form and function must await subsequent publication.

Third, there is the Female House (*nayos fale*). This is also a literal translation of the native term. This is a group in which are included all bilaterally reckoned kin who appear neither in the lineage nor in the Male House. It is not subdivided as is the Male House group nor is the concept so sharply defined. However, basically it hinges also on [604]
descendants of pairs of siblings, i.e., on the father's sister and the mother's sister. In it are also included descendants through females of Male House kin. The functions of this group are not sharply defined but it is composed in a general way of the people on whom one may call for supplementary assistance in ceremonial and financial exchanges.

There is no trace of brother and sister avoidance, nor are there for- [515] ●
malized joking or respect relationships. This negative point may have importance for what follows, since one of the characteristic features of life in Atimelang, as I see it, is the absence of formal structure, especially in interpersonal relationships.

According to the house-to-house census, the number of occupants [592
to a dwelling ranges from one to eight. In this, as in other phases of social organization, there is no rigidity. Theoretically, residence is pat-

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with Fanon the interpreter in the presence of his sister and a female 339
cousin, he expressed strong feelings about it and his face wore an unmistakable expression of disgust. His sister and cousin began to tease him, referring to his own birth. The discussion ended laughingly—as do many of the good-natured arguments on sex differences—with the comment by Fanon's sister, "Men are bad, women are good."

The midwife who assists at a birth is given a small gift, usually a [799
melon, whose value may range from one to three rupiahs. The longer 448]
and more difficult the birth, the larger is the fee paid. Midwives who have had to manipulate the child by reaching into the mother's body expect larger fees.

There are few anecdotes of difficult births. One woman of about 345
forty, well informed in such matters, could recall only four deaths in childbirth. This is certainly no measure of maternal mortality, but it does indicate both that childbearing is relatively easy and that the culture does not stress the importance and difficulty of the occurrence. No mother died in childbirth during the eighteen months that I was in the village. In the half-dozen births I witnessed, the mothers at no time showed signs of pain beyond acute discomfort. They groaned softly and perspired freely but seemed on the whole to give birth with little difficulty. In one case where the afterbirth was long in coming, the woman massaged her abdomen, scratched her loins, and combed the knots out of her hair—devices that were all believed to assist her in labor.

After giving birth the mother stays in the house from four to six 346
days, which seems to be the time necessary for the end of the umbilical cord to dry up and drop off. Naturally, infected navels occur fairly often and are treated with poultices of mashed leaves. The dried end of the umbilical cord is saved in an areca basket. When the child is able to crawl, the cord is placed on a bundle of corn, which is presented to the maternal grandmother, or, if she is dead, to some equivalent kin. When the grandmother accepts the gift, the bit of cord is flicked off and ignored.

During the four to six days spent in the house, the mother rests and 354
devotes herself exclusively to fondling and feeding the infant. At this time the child's warm water baths are begun. Depending on the solicitude of the mother, these warm baths are repeated at least every two or three days, until the child can walk. After that it is bathed in cold water.

The mother's material needs during the period of confinement are 344
primarily the concern of her brother and secondarily the concern of 593

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[344] her sisters and mother. Here again the father is excluded. The mother's
[347] brother should carry firewood for her and bring presents of food. In
[347] general he is expected to dance attendance, and his failure to do so may lead to resentment and reproaches from his sister. The gifts and attention the mother receives at this time are considered an encouragement to care properly for the child, as though she would otherwise be neglectful. They also serve to assert the claim of the woman's family on the infant. There are instances of affinal kin's having been so enraged at what they felt to be the negligence of parents that they have taken violent action. (For a case in point see Mangena's autobiography, page 212.)

346 The father of the child, meanwhile, is supposed to refrain from any vigorous work such as digging, chopping wood, or rat hunting. He idles about, inactive and without any definite function, in a household centering around his wife and child, who are in the hands of his affinal kin.
345 Should the child be sickly in the early weeks of life, the mother is sure to question the father about his activities during this period of seclusion. He will rack his brains to recall any infringement of the prescribed precautions. Once he remembers, it is easy enough to undo the harm by picking some leaves at the place of transgression, confessing his error, and at the same time urging the soul of the child to enter the leaves. He then goes home and strokes the sick child's head with the leaves, after dipping them in water. The straying soul returns and the child recovers.

343 The father is obviously in a peculiar position. Although he is responsible for the child and has an intimate connection with its well-being, he is at the same time without any positive functions and has only restrictive obligations.

The extent of the father's responsibilities in the face of his disfranchisement is illustrated by a case where the child died in infancy. Fantan had already lost two sons shortly after birth. His lineage was deficient in males and he was unusually worried when the latest child, four days after birth, began to cry excessively and refuse the breast.
[758] His wife's kin and interested neighbors divined to discover which spirits might have been offended. The process was repeated several times, and each time it was Fantan who had to pay for the divination and for the animals necessary to placate the offended supernaturals. It cost him approximately two rupiahs and five chickens. Since he was working for wages in my service, he was particularly liable to be asked for payments in Dutch currency. The outlay represented about two weeks' work, yet he was hardly ever present during these efforts to discover and treat the source of the child's illness.

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Fantan was obviously distressed by the situation but insisted on working with me each day, saying there was nothing he could do at home. When finally wailing was heard from the direction of his house, he knew the child had died. He went home immediately, but it was not considered good form for him to enter the house crowded with wailing women. At last a neighbor went in, took the dead child from its mother's arms, and hurried off alone to bury it in a near-by field. At this point Fantan put his head down on his knees and broke out into hard dry sobs, which he tried to suppress. Weeping is considered unmanly by the culture and therefore he had less outlet than his wife, of whom wailing was expected. Characteristically enough, however, Fantan was able to transform his grief into anger almost immediately, for at that moment a friend arrived to report that his brother-in-law had just killed one of his penned pigs in order to force him to give a death feast, an expense quite unwarranted for so young a child. Fantan said as he started toward his pigpen, "I have had enough expenses. Why should my brother-in-law kill my pig, since he didn't even come to be with his sister when her child died?"

DESCENT FROM THE HOUSE

Four to six days after the birth the first descent of the mother and child into the outside world is marked by a trivial ceremony in which a few neighboring kinswomen may assist. The maternal grandmother, or some surrogate, plants sweet potatoes and piles stones near the house verandah. The plants and stones may be represented by weeds and pebbles. By this act she releases both the mother and the father from the restrictions on vigorous labor. A few other precautionary measures may be taken, all within the range of sympathetic magic. The mother then leaves the house and is bathed for the first time since giving birth. Tubsful of water are poured over her back, arms, and legs. That afternoon the father gives a small feast to repay the wife's kin for their contributions and services. For a few more days the mother is inclined to stay near the house and perform only the easier household tasks.

The descent from the house marks the beginning of a wider diet for the child. At this time premasticated roasted bananas and vegetable gruels are added to breast feeding. The gruel is poured into the mouth from a coconut-shell spoon. The premasticated bananas are given the infant either with the hand or directly from the adult's mouth.

At this time, too, the infant's contacts expand. He begins to be a center of interest and is passed from hand to hand. Everyone seems entranced by small babies and many people will ask to hold and fondle

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of the children themselves are also of interest here. Certain points may 154
be made in connection with the sleeping habits and any disturbances 155
the child might be supposed to feel at being displaced by the father. First, the child's dependency on the mother is less marked than in our culture; second, the child is given genital satisfaction through deliberate masturbation. One of the favorite substitutes for offering the breast in an effort to pacify a child is to massage its genitals gently. [illegible] It was my impression that this device for pacifying children was used even more by siblings than by adults. If the observation is correct, the explanation may be found in two factors: First, the sibling acting as mother-surrogate cannot pacify the child by offering it food, and second, the young sibling may have fewer occasions to express sex interest than the adult.

No effort is made during infancy to teach the child to talk. Although 161
an adult may sing dance songs to soothe it, there is no deliberate attempt to impart verbal training. At most, the only talking I have seen an adult direct toward a child is the repetition of its name.

Toilet training, too, is completely disregarded during the prewalking 161
period. Adults exhibit no anger or disgust when a child soils the carrying shawl or the body of the person caring for it. The caretaker cleans up after the child with the most casual matter-of-factness, wiping off its buttocks with a bit of leaf, a corn husk, or a bamboo sliver.

Nor is walking urged on the child. Crawling is confined to the rela- 161
tively rare periods when the child is seated on the verandah or in the living room instead of being in a carrying shawl. Naturally, as the child gets older more of this freedom is allowed it, and one sometimes sees a prewalking baby crawling about either in a sitting position with one leg under it or raised up on all fours. I do not recall ever seeing a child crawl on hands and knees. When the child of its own volition begins to stand, it most commonly pulls itself upright holding onto the leg of some near-by adult. Padafan, a child whose development I was able to watch with some consistency, definitely learned to stand by pulling himself up on his mother's leg in an effort to get her attention so that she would pick him up and nurse him.

When a youngster begins trying to stand, any adult may play with it and assist it in its efforts at walking, but for both the adult and the child this is a play activity involving neither consistency nor rewards and punishments. Thus his first mastery technique does not depend exclusively upon the assistance of a parent. For about eight children whose 156
ages I could determine with some accuracy walking began not much later than it does with us, which is from the twelfth to the eighteenth

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833 small ones. . . . [I was angry] because she was always crying. She
845 cried to go places, she cried to be fed. I hit her on the head with my
knuckles, and then I would feed her. She cried because she was hun-
gry."

833 This passage brings out nicely the two major causes of children's
841 distress: hunger and desertion. Just as clearly, it demonstrates the incon-
853 sistency of treatment and the restrictive quality of the discipline that
pervades the child's life and which might well be expected to breed in it
a sense of bewildered insecurity and suspicious distrust. That a child
may be pleased and indulged one moment and struck or deserted in the
next can scarcely create an image of a secure outer world.

785 In many instances when children under five years cried, it was ow-
853 ing to desertion by an adult—in many cases the mother. Comparable
cases may occur before the walking stage, but none came to my attention,
although infants in arms cried frequently enough when ill or ap-
parently hungry. The instances usually disappear before the child is
five, but there were at least two cases in which boys between the ages
of seven and nine still had severe rages whenever they found themselves
deserted. Many such outbursts are provoked by the parents' slipping
out to attend all-night dances.

855 An important subject in any discussion of childhood is the sense of
858 being valued, which may or may not be imparted to children by their
cultural and familial environment. There are many opportunities for
small children in Atimelang to gain a sense of being valued, but like the
discipline, these must be bewildering in their inconsistency. At the end
of the afternoon, when people are returning to the village for the eve-
ning meal and stop at the dance place for an hour or so of gossip and
socializing, the young walkers playing there may be the center of
amused and affectionate attention. I have seen three or four toddlers
who were attempting to imitate adult circle dances or male challenge
gestures hold the attention of a large group of adults, who encouraged
them and laughed with, rather than at, them. This of course was a sud-
den surfeit of attention and approval in contrast to the day of neglect
which the child might just have spent. It represents also one of the few
cases of constructive teaching, outside of purely physiological controls,
that I saw adults give children.

593 Another experience that many children may have and one that all
598 children can witness is quarrels between parents in which the children
159 themselves are often the pawns. There was the case of Taifani, for in-
stance, a three-year-old girl whose mother and father were threatening to
divorce each other. In the course of an all-day quarrel the wife's ma-

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normal uncle, to emphasize his point, picked up Tallavi and started back
to his village with her. The father threw down a rope and the child was
fought over by the two men. When the father finally secured the child,
he held her tightly in his arms all morning. Tallavi's care had been pri-
marily entrusted to her maternal grandmother, and when the grand-
mother finally left with her brother, the child wept so insistently to go
with her that the father, with obvious reluctance, finally surrendered
the child.

There was a similar situation when Nicolas divorced his first wife,
by whom he had two sons, one about five years old and the other
approximately two and a half. The father had had very little contact
with the children, since he was away most of the time. On the other hand,
for an Alorese parent, the mother had been particularly indulgent and
fond. At the time of the divorce there were days of virulent and public
recrimination between the parents, which ended finally in the surrender
of both children to the father and the departure of the mother to a dis-
tant village, where she was to marry another man.

Obviously all children are not exposed to such potentially traumatic
and affectionally disorienting situations, but practically no child es-
capes being witness to such occurrences. In the autobiographies there
are a number of anecdotes demonstrating the skill children develop in
playing one parent off against the other. The result of all this must be
that the child is robbed of a sense of security and stability by being de-
prived of the opportunity to form a pattern of stable relationships.

RESIDENCE

Mobility of residence is another factor that may contribute to a
child's sense of instability. During early childhood such a sense of insta-
bility may begin to take form and it will be emphasized by later repeti-
tion. The autobiographies give the most graphic picture of constant
moving from house to house, village to village, and village to field. It is
true that these moves are always within a circumscribed orbit. The re-
sult may be that a person becomes familiar with a landscape rather than
with a residence.

Alorese houses are perishable. A field house rarely lasts more than
two seasons. A village house of the fala type may last five or six years, a
lineage house (*kadang*) somewhat longer. No one place of residence is
constantly occupied for any great length of time. Even within the
yearly agricultural cycle a family is apt to move back and forth be-
tween a village house and a field house.

The child's escape from irksome home life by changes of residence

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567 When Semmani heard that his child had actually been sold, he gave
627 her up, saying, "Now we won't get the child back. So we shall consider
685 her a person dead from violence and provide her with a human head
766 as her spouse." He then sent a friend to get a head from Fungwati, and the friend returned with the head of an adult man.

● 593 This story has some interesting facets. It cannot be said that the par-
667 ents did not care for their child, but it is significant that they were so ready to abandon her. They might have followed her to the village into which she was sold and bought her back for about four dollars. That would be the standard price increase for a second transaction on the progressive sale of a stolen child. Instead, however, they gave up the child and bought a head that must have cost them about sixty dollars, indicating that vengeance and prestige were more important to them than the child itself.

868 The opportunities for children to acquire attitudes of fear are not always so direct and drastic. Many sources of fright are more subtle and covert. For instance, if a child in racing about the uneven and stony paths of the valley stumbles and falls, the adults will shout at him in harsh and frightened fashion for his awkwardness. There is in the community a very marked fear of even this form of accidental violence or injury. Its origin is not accounted for by the natives, and the only explanation that occurs to me is a very legitimate fear of the infection that so often sets in where there are open wounds.

869 Late childhood is undoubtedly the period when individuals acquire
835 their fear of supernatural beings. Children are in full possession of the
775 speculation and gossip concerning supernatural malignancy or poisoning that surrounds many deaths. These supernatural spirits are everywhere, living near springs, trees, ravines, and rocks. It is practically impossible to avoid their habitations; all one may hope is not to offend them. Children who are their victims can be saved only by having their adult kin perform the proper sacrifices, and such sacrifices are never
[755] begrudged by adults. Long-delayed death feasts are sometimes given by men whose children's illnesses have been diagnosed as the work of angered ghosts. There is ample evidence to indicate that parents are thoroughly solicitous for the health of their children, at least within their own cultural patterns. They are less convinced and therefore willing to make an effort where European medication is concerned.

869 Similarly, during this period children must absorb fear of the spirits
775 of the violently dead, a category which includes those who have died from accidents, warfare, dysentery, smallpox, and leprosy. The child has every opportunity to observe the elaborate ceremonial and financial de-

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stuffed a pea in my ear and could not get it out. My father was angry 861
and pulled my ear for this. He said, 'Why do you stuff peas in your ear 154
in view of the fact that I don't strike you?'"

No discussion of aggression would be complete without some com- 845
ments on the techniques of resistance open to children when parental authority becomes too irksome. The most common device is to run away, often after some act of revengeful violence. It is a common experience to see men order a play group of children to do something, only to see the group melt away if the task promises to be unattractive. However, the group forms as rapidly again if some pleasant activity is afoot.

There seems always to be some kin who will offer sanctuary to a [973]
child in difficulty. Just as children learn quickly enough to play one parent off against the other, so also they learn which kin will stand up for them when parental demands seem oppressive. The case of Rilpada's rebellion against duties and his mode of escape is worth noting.

"Once mother and I went to the garden; there was a large field 855
house and we lived there. One day she told me to carry Senmani [his 863
infant brother] while she worked. At noon he was hungry and wanted to nurse. I gave him food, but he only vomited it. He cried and cried and wouldn't stop. I cried too. Finally I went and told mother to nurse him, but she wouldn't come. So I took Senmani into the house and laid him down on a mat and ran off to Folafeng. From there I shouted, 'Mother, your child sleeps in the house. If you want to care for it, good; if you don't want to, also good. I am going to Atimelang and play.' I went to the house of my maternal grandmother in the former Atimelang. . . . Mother called, 'All right, you have thrown away your younger brother. Tomorrow you will die.' That evening mother came to Atimelang with Senmani and gave him to my grandfather to care for. In the morning she returned and tied my hands behind my back. She said, 'You wear a loincloth but you aren't old enough to wear a loincloth.' She took my loincloth away from me. Then my grandfather split his shawl and gave me half for a loincloth. I said to my mother, 'You have hit me and you have taken away my loincloth. Now I don't want to stay with you.' Then mother talked nicely to me, but I didn't want to go back. My grandfather said, 'You hit him and opened his loincloth, so now go cut your weeds with your right hand and care for your infant with your left hand. Carry the child in front and your water tubes in back.' I stayed a month with my grandfather, and then mother came back and asked me to go home. So I did, and cared for my younger brother."

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form of gift from a husband called "roastings" (*bioting*). He brings a small pig to his affinal kin's feast, slaughters and cooks it there, and disposes of its meat himself; he does not turn it over to his father-in-law for distribution. However, he is felt to be adding to the ostentation of the occasion by cooking at the site of the feast.

So far I have been describing affinal exchanges as though they occurred only between the husband and his wife's father or brother. Actually most financial exchanges between men are phrased as affinal ones. Thus a man may enter into financial transactions with the husbands of any female kin he calls *vi mayos*, i.e., female child. This includes all his nieces and cousins reckoned bilaterally. Such exchanges also are called dowries (*moling*) and bride-prices (*fila*) but they do not affect the original agreement between a man and his affinal kin. A sister's son also is called a *vi mayos*. In this case the term means a male child through a female kin. Such a vi mayos may ask his mother's brother for financial help (*moling*), on the supposition that the maternal uncle is paying dowry on his sister. There are, of course, still wider ramifications of these bride-price–dowry exchanges, but they need not be discussed in this connection.

Perhaps one of the best indexes of what marital finances may mean is revealed in cases of divorce. At such times tallies of sticks or pebbles are laid down in separate rows by each side to represent the kafuk and paheh versus the moling and fila payments. As a rule the punghe and siengma exchanges are not counted unless there is a good deal of ill feeling and consequently financial pressure is being brought to bear on one or the other principals. As each tally is named in connection with the occasion of payment, witnesses may be called upon to substantiate the correctness of the claim. These witnesses are usually people who have some financial interest in the settlement. However, since such financial exchanges are invariably public affairs and so much a matter of common knowledge, skill in divorce reckonings depends more on memory than on chicanery. The objective is to balance bride-price payments against dowry payments.

Since such reckonings are the favorite way for husbands, wives, and affinal kin to air their grievances, these encounters are frequent. I should hazard the guess that there averaged one a week in the Five Villages. Naturally not all led to divorce. Usually after bluffs had been called and grievances aired, the couple settled down again. Fantan's autobiography offers a nice example of such a situation.

People generally seemed to sense whether the divorce reckoning was in earnest or not, but whether or not it was serious never seemed to de-

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586 tract from their pleasure in the recitation of the exchanges. Also, the
longer the marriage has lasted, the more elaborate will be the financial
182 reckonings—a factor that helps to stabilize marriages. Theoretically,
586 and almost always in practice, the bride-price exceeds the dowry, so
that the woman's family is in a debtor position. This too serves as a
check on facile divorce, since a woman's kin must be able to repay the
bride-price. On occasion a woman will be caught in a marriage from
which she cannot extricate herself because male kin cannot, or will not,
come to her support. Under such circumstances the only solution for
587 her is to find a second husband who will pay back her first husband the
owed bride-price. This is generally possible, but the case of one young
woman caught in a strange village with a husband she did not like and
whose male kin were unsympathetic is worth repeating.

593 The girl had married a man from a distant village who paid her
father an unusually large bride-price, amounting to more than three
mokos worth about eighty dollars. The girl went to join her husband
but refused him sexual privileges. This is quite customary at the begin-
ning of marriage, so the husband was not too impatient. After a month,
583 however, one night when she left the house to relieve herself he fol-
lowed her and raped her. Another source of friction was that she
wanted to cultivate a field near the village but he and his brothers in-
sisted that she work in a distant field where she professed to be in dan-
ger from wild pigs. After a few months of quarreling she ran back to
her own village to live with her maternal uncle who had brought her
up. Her mother had died when she was young and when her father re-
married she had been taken into the household of the uncle.

596 Her father was greatly annoyed at the rupture in the marriage, par-
ticularly since he had given so far very little dowry on her. However,
the husband forced the father into a repayment of all but a thirteen-
dollar-and-fifty-cent moko that the father refused to return until the
husband returned a five-dollar moko of the dowry payment. This
the husband refused to do because of a financial dispute as to precisely
what was owed. The girl's uncle too was angry because he had been
given no share in the bride-price, so that he refused to repay the hus-
band and complete the divorce. The girl, on her side, refused to find
another spouse who would assume her financial commitments. Both of
her male kinsmen were furious with her for what they considered her
unreasonable behavior. The father in his anger had taken back a shawl
he had given her, and the uncle refused to pay for a seer who would
counteract the poison that the girl said her husband had directed against
her. She had been ill for several months, a condition she attributed to

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the poison her husband had made over a piece of areca-nut shell she had discarded. The young woman, when I saw her, was depressed and ill. She apparently felt herself in an impasse.

Cases of this sort are relatively rare. Women as a rule are too valuable to go begging in this fashion, and anyone with enough vigor and maturity can get herself out of such a dilemma, as reference to the autobiographies will show.

ENTERING MARRIAGE FINANCE

So far this discussion of marriage has been primarily concerned with its formal structure, its influence on stabilizing relationships, and the position in which it places women in relation to their male kin. How a young man enters the financial game, with marriage and sex as motivations, needs some elucidation. The mode of entry presents a wide range—from those young men who are on good terms with wealthy fathers willing to set them up in marriages agreeable to them, to those young men who have no solicitous kin willing to, or able to, assist and who must break into the system through their own initiative.

The situation of the young man whose way is smoothed by the cooperation of a willing father needs little elaboration. The men's autobiographies set this picture in part. It is worth noting that elder kin are often genuinely concerned about procuring a wife for a young man. If a youth becomes involved with a woman, her relatives may precipitate a public scandal and force a marriage. This places the boy's elders at a disadvantage in bargaining. However, the case of a young man who opposes his father's choice and that of a young man who must make his way unaided may be illustrated in two incidents given here in some detail for the light they throw on human relationships.

Atamau was a young man of about seventeen whose elderly father, Mobikaliets, had found it financially convenient about a year before to accept as partial payment for a debt a friend's immature daughter, who was to become the wife of his son. Atamau resented the girl because as his age-mates said, "He wants someone who is old enough to sleep with." The matter had been in abeyance for about a year, but to a house-building feast in which the old father was a partner, the young girl was sent with a food contribution in her own right. This constituted a sort of public declaration of the validity of her marriage. When she arrived on the dance place, Atamau flew into a rage and knocked her basket of food to the ground, saying she was not his wife and had no right to contribute food.

The father was angry and turned on his son, who then openly re-

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584 595 jected the marriage, saying that the girl's parents were willing to give back the bride-price. The father, despite his age and feebleness, flew into such a tantrum at this that he began dancing challenge back and forth across the dance place, shouting as loud as his aged voice permitted. The son sat quietly to one side looking distressed but stubborn. Bystanders tried to intercede only to have Mobikalieta turn on them in rage and threaten to leave the feast, although he was a building partner of the lineage house then being erected.

After various extremely boastful challenges on Mobikalieta's part he suddenly recalled the original cause of his anger and turning on his son said, "Perhaps you had better find another father." This was the equivalent of "throwing away" his son, one of the most drastic pressures a kinsman can bring to bear. Atamau began to cry quietly but refused to surrender his point. When I asked a bystander if Atamau would really seek another man to help him marry, the bystander smiled and said, "When a father and son quarrel, they don't remember their words (i.e., they hold no grudge)."

However, this was merely a traditional response. Actually Atamau and Mobikalieta were not reconciled. Five months later Atamau persuaded Maliseni, a rich financier, to take up his case. For two whole days Maliseni negotiated with the girl's father, with Atamau's father, and with the chief of Atimelang, who was considering buying Atamau's repudiated child wife. The negotiations reached a climax one night when for two hours Maliseni paced back and forth on his dance place discussing the matter with a sympathetic audience and shouting his conclusions to the dance place up on the ridge where the supporters of the girl were gathered.

584 All this difficulty centered around a series of interlocking obligations in which Atamau was being squeezed. The situation was complex but in brief was this. Mobikalieta had already paid the girl's father a ten-dollar moko, a five-dollar moko, and two pigs. The girl's father was notoriously poverty-stricken, and direct payment from him was out of the question. The chief of Atimelang was bidding for the rejected girl and was willing to pay back the five-dollar moko and the two pigs. Still unsettled was the repayment of the ten-dollar moko. The girl's father and the chief were saying they would not repay it until Atamau made a dowry payment on a kinswoman of his who was married to a kinsman of theirs. Matters were at an impasse for another month until the divorce of another of Atamau's kinswomen, through Maliseni's good offices, put him in possession of a moko. This he could use as the demanded dowry payment and thereby get back his ten-dollar bride-price

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moko. With that in hand he could begin to accumulate a new bride-price, by lending it at interest to Maliseni. Thereby he would be one step nearer to buying the girl on whom his heart meanwhile had become set. These financial transactions must have been highly frustrating to Atamau and the girl whom he wished to marry. They also gave rise to, or were the means of expressing, hostility between a father and son, and they laid the rejected girl open to a good deal of sly teasing from young men about her desirability and the reason for her marriage to an older man.

Senlaka's experiences in trying to break into financial life were perhaps even more frustrating and discouraging than those of Atamau. When he was about fourteen or fifteen, he had spent a season working hard in his and his parents' gardens. After a good maize harvest had been tied into bundles and stored in the loft, his parents, partly to reward him and partly to start him on his financial career, gave him a piglet. Senlaka devoted himself to its care. He kept it penned and gathered food to fatten it rapidly. When it was worth a five-dollar moko, instead of allowing Senlaka to contribute it to a feast for a return payment in mokos, his father confiscated it for one of his own death feasts, saying it was Senlaka's duty to contribute to their family ceremonies.

Senlaka was furious but helpless. He swore he would never again raise pigs, a vow that he kept stubbornly for years. Meanwhile his father died, but there was an older brother who had to buy a wife first. When I knew Senlaka he was twenty-six, still unmarried, and as sensitive on that score as all boys in Atimelang. For a young man of his age to be unmarried is considered even more of a social disability than for a debutante who has been out ten years. Luckily Senlaka was a good houseboy and the salary he received from me permitted him to buy a moko from a coastal man who was pressed for tax money and to acquire a couple of pigs. The special inducement for launching once more on a financial career was a girl from Karieta with whom he had fallen in love. He contributed his pigs as dowry payments on some female kin and expected the higher bride-price in return. However, he lent his moko at interest to Maliseni, the same financier who figured in the preceding anecdote and one notoriously skilled in financial chicanery.

To add to Senlaka's difficulties his future brothers-in-law were planning a large death feast for their father. They counted on their only sister's bride-price as one of the chief sources of income for the event. Night after night when Senlaka went to see the girl, her kin berated him for his slowness in paying his bride-price and threatened to sell their sister to another man. They even demanded that he pay the whole

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to those of her husband, this was a singularly loyal and romantic statement on the girl's part.

In the foregoing pages I have attempted to give a simplified picture of what marriage means financially, how young men enter the game, and the kinds of human involvements that may result. From even this brief résumé of the situation it becomes evident how firmly wealth and marriage, sex and frustration must merge in the minds of young Atimelangers.

ROMANCE AND SEX IN MARRIAGE

That there is such a thing as romantic love is evident from the foregoing. However, it is equally evident that this is not the term in which the institution is phrased by the culture. In this, of course, the Atimelangers reverse our romantic formulation of marriage. I have the impression that a stubborn romantic attachment like Senlaka's is a definite liability, since it makes him more susceptible to financial pressure.

In discussing the sexual and romantic aspects of courting and marriage it is worth noting how consistently the men's autobiographies report that women took the initiative. It is often they who suggest that tokens such as shawls, bracelets, and the like be exchanged. It is the girls who are supposed to ask men for areca, which is symbolic at least of friendship, and often of actual courting. They flock as eagerly as boys to the all-night dances, which often offer excellent opportunities for finding partners. Dances consist of a circle of people standing close and moving sidewise with arms thrown over each other's shoulders or around the partners' waists. There is every opportunity to select the partner of one's choice and to have close physical contact with him. The men, in speaking of marriage, often present themselves as passive pawns of women's or older men's designs. Such a picture might be more convincing if it were substantiated by the women's autobiographies and if the flirting, philandering, and recriminations of everyday life did not in part contradict it. The actual situation probably varies with individuals. The point to be noted is that initiative in contracting a marriage is not even theoretically denied to women.

In both sexes the striking thing brought out in the autobiographies is the ease with which loved persons may be surrendered. It is a character trait consistent with the supposition made at the end of the section on late childhood, namely, that there are few opportunities in Atimelang life for the establishment of secure and permanent relationships and little expectation of, or insistence upon, them. This is far from saying that they never occur. There are several couples who have established what would be considered in any culture devoted and lasting marital

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183 ties. Such ties are within the range of possibility but do not appear to
593 be modal.

593 One of the interesting aspects of early married life in Atimelang is
833 that the woman, once mutual residence has been established, quite often refuses her husband sexual privileges. This refusal is often phrased in terms of still unsatisfactory financial payments to her kinsmen, so that men have another opportunity to link wealth with sex and sexual frustration. However, if we may trust the autobiographies, men may also on occasion show considerable reluctance to enter into sexual relationships. Rilpada's and Malelaka's autobiographies both point to such episodes. In consonance with such an attitude is the fact that most men
[556 when engaged in elaborate feast finances are continent and even sleep in
834] the male guesthouses or on their own verandahs. The acquisition of wealth can be pursued successfully only at the expense of sexual gratification. It should be stated parenthetically that some women, as well as their husbands, believe that they are lucky rather than unlucky in relation to "pulling in gongs and mokos," so that continence is not required of their husbands to assure success in financial transactions.

582 On the part of women the unwillingness to enter immediately into sexual intimacies with their husbands, or at least the existence of that traditional attitude, may be explicable in part by the very early marriages they frequently contract. The first sign of swelling breasts is
[881 considered the token of a girl's readiness for adult sexual life. First
884] menses are considered irrelevant, and some women told me of having borne children before their periods set in.* Not every girl, of course, marries so young, but there is no doubt that marriage does come much earlier in life for girls than for boys. This means that their period of
[882] sociological adolescence is much briefer and certainly in comparison to boys socially much less trying.

581 The attitude of men toward young wives varies considerably, although again opinion is weighted in favor of young women. Of course the matter is relative. In the case of Atamau, previously cited, his overt objection was that the girl was too young to enter into sexual relations. The chief of Atimelang, who then bought the girl, said that it was better to get a very young girl so that she could be trained to docility and industry. A man from Dikimpe was very dubious of the whole affair
[582] and said somewhat scornfully that in his village they did not believe in marrying children. Rilpada, whose autobiography is included in this volume, was of the opinion that an older woman, who thought only of her fields and had already learned to work, was more desirable as a

* The menopause is treated in an equally casual manner.

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462 589 736 The result of this attitude is to permit, even if it does not actually encourage, each sex to control the other's techniques of livelihood. This gives the sexes an actual economic independence of each other which is not apparent in a theoretic formulation that appears to set up a complementary cooperation making for mutual dependence. It is quite possible, and is indeed a not infrequent practice, for single men and women to get along quite ably on a subsistence and minimal prestige basis. I have in mind, for example, a divorcée with two children who not only had ample means of subsistence but had accumulated gongs, mokos, and pigs equal to those of some of the poorer men. There were widowers and temporarily deserted men who managed quite nicely alone. The single man is perhaps at a disadvantage compared to the single woman, since he has seldom had the same training in industry and since his cultural status at best requires that he do little physical labor except communally. In fact, men living alone are often the subject of surreptitious gossip which accuses them of living by poaching on neighboring fields and livestock.

● 573 562 When the interpretation of this attitude is extended to its fullest, it seems to be associated with the strongly rooted theory and fact that women are the providers of food. In addition, after an open quarrel in which divorce is threatened, the chief or the tumukun will often read the couple a moral lecture in which the wife is urged to be a mother to the man and the husband is urged to be a father to the woman. The conjunction of these two factors, the wife as provider of food and as mother, become indissolubly linked not only with each other but with experiences of early childhood. This image of the wife as the mother-provider was given perhaps extreme expression by Fantan the Interpreter, who was trying to explain the significance of the marital relationship from this angle. He said, "Wives are like our mothers. When we were small our mothers fed us. When we are grown our wives cook for us. If there is something good, they keep it in the pot until we come home. When we were small we slept with our mothers; when we are grown we sleep with our wives. Sometimes when we are grown we wake in the night and call our wives 'mother.'"

586 In many cases this sentiment is more the expression of a hope than a reality. The mother is indeed the provider, but as we have seen she is an uncertain and unreliable figure. It is not surprising that even though the whole weight and prestige of the masculine-controlled finance acts to stabilize marriage, Atimelangers average about two divorces apiece. When one considers the elaborate affinal involvements and the cumbersome monetary negotiations involved in divorce, the figure seems high.

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are not supposed to desire women in that condition. Informants report that discomfort is rare and takes the form of only a slight headache or backache. During this time, however, women are inclined to do less work. One woman said, "If a husband orders his wife to do work when she has her friend, older people will say to him, 'Are your eyes closed? Don't you see how your wife is?' A good husband will even cook for his wife at this time."

In connection with late childhood certain references were made to just how far children might go in sexual references before adults were shocked and interfered. It is quite obvious that sexual topics are not tabooed, but it is rather the nature of the reference that is shocking or not. Probably one of the most acute sources of shame in relation to sex is public intercourse. Several pieces of gossip on that score were whispered about the community or were sources of open scandal. Again I had to depend on Fantan the Interpreter alone for such material.

"Padakafeli was married to Falongmau. She didn't want to sleep with him. He got very angry and made a litigation. The chief said he would have to have intercourse with her right there. The mandur held Falongmau. Padakafeli was ashamed, but the chief made him sleep with her outdoors on the dance place. Everyone was ashamed and went up into their houses except a couple of older men who aren't ashamed of anything.

"People are ashamed when a woman like Lopada (who was subject to attacks of hyperexcitability) begins playing with an older man, touches his genitals, or hits him. Sometimes a husband and wife will fight and the wife will rip off a husband's loincloth. That makes him and everyone else terribly ashamed. A man will never touch a woman's loincloth. It would spoil his luck.

"Once the chief of Fungatau was away from home for several days. When he returned, he found that his wife had left to come home to her family here. He came to look for her and called for her to come down from her family's house. She knew what he wanted. There were many people there and she just sat close to her mother. Her husband came up and began fighting with her. They fought terribly and he ripped off her loincloth and wanted to have intercourse with her right there before all the people. He was like a crazy person. All turned their backs and were ashamed. Finally everyone helped to drag them out of the house. They went on fighting down on the verandah. The girl's mother said they were terrible and tried to chase them away.

"Another time he acted the same way when his wife was working together with many people in the fields. Everyone went off but the

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593 owner of the field, who turned his back and continued working. Then
893 the man was angry with the field owner and wanted to fight with him, so the field owner litigated and was paid half a rupiah and a pig as a fine."

831 It is interesting that Fantan, who gave these anecdotes, on two or
522 three occasions when there were dolls or native human carvings on my verandah, manipulated them in intercourse positions to the great amusement of a mixed audience and was laughingly reproved by some older men and women.

INCEST

835 In contrast to these accounts and behaviors the reaction to incest is
582 interesting. There seems to be little tension and shame associated with it. Marriage to any known kin is considered improper, but marriages between second cousins occur without any social opprobrium. The uncertainty about more distant kinship ties and about the propriety of marriage to such persons is revealed in both Kolmani's and Malalaka's autobiography. In both cases these women were willing at first and then used a plea of kinship ties to avoid the marriage. Mother-son, father-daughter, and brother-sister incest were all denied as possibilities. Certainly I could find no local cases of any of these. However, there was an anecdote of brother-sister incest from the Kebola peninsula. In this case the brother had been away for many years and on his return slept with his younger sister, who had grown up during his absence. The affair was generally known; they lived openly together and had a child. The informant's comment on the situation was, "That is bad. People don't get gongs and mokos in a marriage like that. Their kin were angry with them." The comments of the informant are almost more interesting than the anecdote itself. It would indicate a complete externalization of the incest breach. Not conscience but commerce is offended.

835 Sexual relations with a stepmother or a sister-in-law are also frowned
[624] upon. There is social disapproval in such cases and whispered gossip in the village but no interference. Action on "incestuous" adultery is held in check by the sense of familial solidarity. In one case of rumored sister-in-law "incest" the husband ignored the matter and stayed away from the house most of the time. In another such case, however, the
[684] husband and the woman's brother made a public scandal, imposed a heavy fine, broke the marriage, and prevented the couple, who seem to have been infatuated with each other, from marrying. In view of the levirate, it is surprising that even as much disapproval attached to the matter as did. In a case of stepmother "incest" the offended father

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indicate that women are not too eager to bear children, that men are more eager for offspring than their wives. When I asked Fantan the interpreter about this, he said, "We men are the ones who want children. Our wives don't. They just want to sleep with us. After a young man has lived with his wife for a year or two and she does not become pregnant, he is angry. He says, 'I work and work every night. I break my back, but this woman does not conceive. I had better look for another wife.'" That this was not a personal aberration of Fantan's was evidenced by confidential statements made to me by three young men who were dissatisfied at their wives' lack of fertility.

The care of infants by men and boys and their affectionate attitudes toward babies have already been mentioned. Supporting the thesis that women are often less eager for children than men, were frank statements by two older women that they had committed abortions during their first pregnancies to spite their husbands, who were buying other wives. The low level of nurturing qualities in Atimelangers is reflected in the absence of pets, with the exception of an occasional piglet, which has wealth value.

A further sociologic point that may have considerable weight is that neither men nor women are considered fully adult until they have children. Adulthood for men means financial status and a role in the prestige system, whereas for women it carries no such social premium; their life pattern is set in childhood and continues through life with only marriage as a break, and marriage per se does not confer adult status.

This subject of children and the wish for them—as well as such indications as I have that men prize them as much, if not more, than women—is far from exhausted, and there is some contradictory evidence. For instance, if women are generally reluctant to bear children, it is unlikely that questions on vital statistics put to sixteen women past the menopause would give 7.5 pregnancies per woman, and that miscarriages and abortions were only 10.5 per cent of one hundred and twenty-one recorded conceptions for these sixteen women. Here, of course, social disapproval of contraception and abortion may have acted as a deterrent.

JEALOUSY

That men are not incapable of jealousy toward their children is nicely illustrated by the episode in the autobiography of Kolmani the Seeress in which Langmai, her husband, reproaches her for neglecting her field work in favor of their child. In this connection, and in contradiction to some of the preceding data that have stressed the men's desire for children, it should be noted that there were in the community

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593 two monogamous and apparently devoted middle-aged couples who,
[597] never having had children of their own, each adopted an orphan.

Before we can weave all these sexual attitudes into some sort of functional coherence, a few comments must be made on the subject of jealousy. That men are jealous of their wives' behavior both before and after marriage is obvious from what has already been said. Adultery is
[648] punishable by death, although a husband is most often satisfied with a fine, and the male culprit usually moves away until the trouble is forgotten. The most extreme cases of male vengeance for adultery are to be found in the latter part of Malelaka's autobiography.

832 There are a number of devices for magically securing or keeping the love of a desired person. As might be anticipated, they all deal with food. A woman who wishes to keep the love of her husband can do so by putting into the bottom of the food pot shreds of her loincloth, clippings of pubic or axillary hair, or clippings of her nails. Certain plants too have the same effect. When the man breathes the steam of the food into which tiny bits of the proper plant have been dropped, he thinks thereafter of no one but the woman who cooked the food.

777 Men are supposed to know of certain roots, pieces of which, carried
832 in the bottom of their areca baskets, will give them luck both in wealth and in sex quests. Also, diamond- and lizard-shaped figures are cut by men from the crisp, thin sheath that grows out of some bamboo joints. These talismans (*tadialang*) are hung by a bit of string from the house eaves so that they wave in the wind. Their waving is supposed to beckon either women or wealth, depending on the wish expressed by the maker. Certainly never more clearly does the wealth, food, and sex linkage come out than in these love charms.

595 Jealousy on the part of women has direct cultural outlets and aggressive expression. When a man takes a second wife, for example, it is considered good form for the first one to quarrel about it. As might be expected, these quarrels are often phrased in terms of property. The first wife will ask how a man can afford to pay a bride-price on another woman when he has paid so little on her. Or she will claim that the pigs he has given for a second wife were in large part raised by herself, which may be true, and that she does not want them so disposed of. She does not have theoretic claim on flesh food, but in practice she may insist, quite rightly, on her interest in it.

After a few reproaches of this sort the first wife seeks out the second. They exchange insults for a time and then begin pulling, tugging, and beating at each other. Immediately all the women of the village become involved. Each wife has a certain number of belligerent allies, and in

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nition of women's vigor and the covert respect in which they are held is the rareness of rape. I was able to collect only three cases, known to about five informants, and only one of these dealt with a local woman. This may indicate, however, no more than that women are not apt to refuse chance adventures. A further possible hint of the real status of women is that in warfare their heads are as valuable as those of men. Anecdotes of the last head-hunting wars revealed that out of ten persons dead or injured, four were women. However, since even half-grown children can be counted in the system of revenge, we must conclude that all adults or near adults are of equal value in this respect.

Still another index of the real, even though disavowed, equality between women and men was contained in a bit of casual chaffing. Some men were tugging at heavy firewood and it hurt their hands. One of them said jokingly, "Our hands are not used to it. A woman should do this." I answered in the same vein, "That is because you don't work as they do." The answer was, "Yes, our hands are soft, so when we hit a woman it doesn't hurt. But their hands are calloused, so when they hit us it hurts a lot." A woman who was sitting near by joined in with the comment, "That is a lie. Men's hands are heavy too."

However, the questions of preference in the sex of children, of rape, and of physical vigor are merely symptoms. Women are in a position to refuse men sexual gratification and food. They can either facilitate or impede a man's financial career. An aggressive woman is usually able to humiliate a man. The case of Fuimai and Maleta, her brother-in-law, is instructive in this connection precisely because their quarrel was one of the rare ones that did not center upon finance, and the sexual element, if it existed, was not avowed. Fuimai's husband could not get along with her. He was seldom at home and she was looked at askance for her freedom with other men. It was whispered throughout the village that among others she had had intercourse with her brother-in-law, Maleta. One morning Maleta took a papaya from Fuimai's tree and sent a child with it to my house to sell it. Fuimai followed the child and took the money for the fruit. Maleta was furious, and in the quarrel that ensued he chopped down the three papaya trees near Fuimai's house. Everyone scrambled to strip the fallen trees, while Fuimai and Maleta continued their quarrel. Maleta sat sullenly on the ground below the verandah while Fuimai hurled a staccato of invective at him: "You should be ashamed! Were they your papaya trees? Is this basket I am weaving your basket, perhaps? Who always feeds you? You come here only to eat. You eat my fingers. I plant the fields of rice and corn. Whose fields are they? Are my fingers tasty? You should be ashamed." Here defi-

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607 nitely a woman was able to assert herself in terms of her real power as a
562 provider quite apart from financial status or kinship authority.

The power of women as opposed to that of men is less rigidified by
593 status requirements. It may leave a weak-willed woman in conflict. A
562 determined woman, however, has greater liberty in placing her allegiance where she will. An anecdote in the autobiography of Kolangkalieta gives such a case (page 494). Her husband was repudiated by his brother. She was free either to repudiate him also or to offer him the support of her own village and kinsmen. She chose the latter course. The husband could not but have felt the degree to which he was dependent
562 on his wife. Women's in-group loyalties and status obligations are less fixed than those of men. To a self-assured person this might give freedom. To an insecure person this might heighten a sense of bewilderment. Since the basic childhood training of Atimelang girls inculcates very little more in the way of internal resources than it does for boys, we should not expect women to be notably more constructive than men, even in the face of greater freedom of choice in certain areas. Test data substantiate this reasoning.

CONCLUSIONS

882 A number of points may be drawn together by way of summary for
562 this chapter. Boys have a longer and more difficult sociologic adoles-
155 cence than girls because they must enter the financial system. Their experiences and knowledge in that field may well be such as to reinforce the impression of uncertainty and inconsistency secured in connection with disciplines in childhood. Their search in marriage is for
[58] sexual gratification, for a provider, and for status both in wealth and in children. They seek in their wives a mother-provider, a role that women have been ill equipped to fulfill. Girls have had a more purposive training in childhood for adult roles although the administration of disciplines has been as inconsistent for them as it has been for boys. Their sociologic adolescence is brief, and they may undertake the sexual aspects of marriage unwillingly. In addition, marriage means for women far
562 greater economic responsibilities in a social system that does not grant them status recognition equal to that of men, while at the same time it places on them greater and more monotonous burdens of labor. For women complete adult status through childbearing is not rewarded socially; it is to an extent penalized in that it adds to labor and responsibilities. The important role of women is covertly recognized but not overtly. There is little in the way of cultural rewards (except posthumous remembrance in the form of death feasts) to make them want to

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nitude. Hardly a feast or ceremonial gathering occurred without at least 578
one acrimonious dispute. My first impression was that these debates might lead to violence at any moment. People shouted at each other and men grasped their bows or swords in the right hand. They took short springing steps backward and forward shouting challenge before meeting the point under debate. The usual preamble was "Hik, hik, my friend So-and-so!"

Further acquaintance with such debates revealed that they practically never developed into physical violence, at least between men. In eighteen months on one occasion only did men come to blows and begin to spar with swords. Even then the gestures were largely formal and seemed deliberately wide of the mark. Finally, by accident, one man received a slight scratch on the forehead. He immediately threw down his sword and rushed to the dance place to litigate. Repeatedly I had the impression that the principals as well as bystanders were terrified lest a quarrel develop into real violence. In every outbreak of any magnitude much of the furor was caused by alarmed neutrals who tried vigorously to placate the opponents and who shouted orders that there was to be no fight. The reasons for the fear will be more apparent when the nature of group responsibility is developed, especially in connection with war.

This does not mean that there never is any real violence, but it does 595
mean that when it occurs it is usually within the small family groups, 578
where repercussions are apt to be limited. The anecdote (page 60) of the man who beat, unmercifully and without interference, his young half brother, is a case in point. In another instance a girl of about fifteen came to have a bad scalp wound dressed. At the time, she told me that she had fallen. Later I discovered that her mother had struck her with a stone because she had gambled away her own dance anklets in the newly introduced card game that was the rage among young people.

Quarrels were so frequent that an attempt to record all of them 578
proved too time-consuming. However, in even the partial record made, 602
every type of kin was involved: parents with children, siblings with cousins of both sexes, grandparents with grandchildren, aunts and uncles with nieces and nephews. An informant in discussing these intrafamilial quarrels added quickly, "But they don't last long. They must forget and eat together." Again food appears as a symbol of reassurance and [264]
social euphoria. Out of forty-seven quarrels of sufficient vigor to produce a public outburst and to come to my notice, thirty-six were between acknowledged kin. This is not a significant number in view of the high degree of interrelationship within the villages. What is signifi-

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755 426 765 his soul is causing the sickness. A small promissory sacrifice to the aggered ghost removes the immediate symptoms. Then the long-drawn preliminaries leading to a feast are set in motion.

621 426 765 A less frequent form of coercing a man into ceremonial expenses is beginning an undertaking in which he is then forced to join. In connection with the death feast given by the tumukun there was an example of such an involvement. The tumukun was giving a feast for his father-in-law. This brought in, although very reluctantly, the maternal uncle of the tumukun's wife and her sister. This uncle was held equally responsible by his female kin for the ceremony in view of the fact that there were no nearer male kin of the deceased.

Another case of forced participation happened in connection with the erection of a new carving of the village guardian spirit for Dikimpe. The person primarily responsible for taking the initiative and bearing the brunt of the expenses was Fantan the Interpreter, who had inherited this duty from his father. In Dikimpe the village guardian spirit carving had not been renewed for several years, nor had the spirit been fed. Thomas, who belonged to one of the Dikimpe lineages and was responsible only to a minor degree for the expenses, ordered a carving made and then left the major part of the activities for Fantan to carry through. It was interesting in this instance that Fantan seemed to bear no resentment.

A still rarer form of forcing a man into feast activities is through public shaming. A quarrel that resulted in a feast five months later is worth giving in detail.

578 593 Maugata, a young man of about eighteen, had done a few days' work on the coast and earned some money which he invested in a crude kerosene flare and a bottle of oil. There were only about half a dozen such lamps in the village, and their owners were very proud of them. On Maugata's return from the coast his father, who was ill, insisted on burning the lamp all night. The next night Djetmani, a neighbor, borrowed the lamp from Maugata's father so that he might have more than just firelight by which to tie into bundles his newly harvested corn. On the third night, Maugata wanted to carry his lamp to an all-night dance, doubtless with the hope of splurging a bit. He found the bottle empty of oil and the lamp dry. He was furious and berated his father until his father, who was both ineffectual and ill, burst into tears. Maugata's mother, who is Tilapada of the autobiographies, turned on her son and scolded him harshly for his behavior.

578 Maugata left the house in a rage and found Djetmani outside. The two began quarreling. Djetmani threatened to break the lamp. Maugata

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857 It must furthermore be noted that the child is not inducted into economic activities.

155 From all these features we can expect at least two consequences on the character formation of the individual: an ambivalent conception of the mother and the absence of a sense of responsibility, particularly in connection with obedience. The tantrums to which the children are [867] frequently subject, and which are often ignored by the elders, are the paramount expression of all these attitudes. Occasionally one notes reprisals on the child for disturbing the peace of the elders. Kolangkaliera mentions such an episode, in which her uncle stuffed feces into the mouth of a crying child.

155 As regards sexual discipline, the early conditions of their lives favor 864 a strong attachment to the mother, notwithstanding the many frustrations she causes. Sleeping with the mother and observing parental intercourse would tend to enhance these attitudes. However, the implied discipline in connection with sex is apparently very powerful. This implied discipline does not refer to sexual activity; its inhibiting influ- ● 593 ence is created by making the object from which gratification is ex- 155 pected into one to be feared. The attachment to the mother must therefore have a unique character. It is a strong attachment but one filled with hatred because she is both a gratifying and a frustrating object. In view of the systematic way in which the mother tesses and cheats the child, a very poor basis is laid for strong, tender relations first with the mother and later with women generally. This is borne out by [562] subsequent facts. The relations between men and women are not good. There is a strong mutual mistrust, and one of the unconscious quests of the male is the constant effort to find the kind, affectionate mother, who can never be found. It is this that may be the basis of the continu- [586 837] ous infidelity, the repeated divorces, and the remarriages. The supercilious attitude that the men have toward women may have its origin 182 in this unconscious and deeply repressed hatred of the mother.

855 The attitude toward the father is of a somewhat different character. 155 During childhood the father is not the provider, hence he is not the 593 source of any great expectations. He may frequently be absent, and he plays a sporadic role in the education and rearing of the child. Fathers toward whom no very strong sense of responsibility is expected cannot be idealized. He is presumably engaged in important business, the significance of which is not likely to reach the child until very much later in life, perhaps not until puberty. Hence the paternal imago is likely 155 to have a peculiarly hollow inflation. The sexual role of the father, 593 however, is one with which the child soon becomes acquainted. And

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it is this circumstance, together with the implied discipline connected with sex, that makes possible the development of an Oedipus complex. The social role of the father is appreciated very much later in life, at which time it may be despotic. He can arbitrarily claim any independent possession of the child and use it for his own ends. In marital arrangements the father is the one chiefly to gain by the sexual value of his daughter. We have thus in the father an individual whose rights over the child are strong but who gives the child practically nothing. The father's control over the children is apparently unequally divided between the sexes; a daughter, by whose marriage the father has something to gain, is more likely to remain in his power than a son. Sons, however, must feel some hostility toward him because of the sexual advantages he enjoys. The young man can have sexual relations only at the risk of incurring financial penalties. This factor must reinforce the already divided feelings toward women that the young man has derived from relations with his mother.

An extremely important point in the relationships of parents to children, and one that has a direct bearing on the absence of inflation of parental imago, is the almost complete lack of reward systems. According to the general principles of psychology, a child can endure frustrations provided certain compensations are made or certain rewards given, either within a short enough time after the frustration in question or expressly related to it. In Alorese culture we have a frustration-reward balance which is extremely poor, and this can only add to the submerged hostility toward the parent. The role of the sense of shame as a basis for the superego is much less satisfactory than more concrete forms of punishment. It lacks the specificity so necessary for correlation with an act which is disapproved and it furnishes no quantitative evaluation of the degree of disapproval. Frightening the child as a disciplinary measure is perhaps more specific—that is, it permits closer connection between the offense and punishment—than shaming, and in this culture can only have the effect of heightening the already high degree of anxiety and of increasing the amount of aggression.

The importance of all these factors is the specific role that they play in superego formation. The tonicity of the superego is maintained by the capacity to internalize the parental ideal. And this in turn is facilitated by the anticipation of rewards. The absence of reward systems means, therefore, that the internalization of the parental ideal must be defective.

As regards the siblings we have a unique situation. Children who

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have not much to expect from parents are not likely to have their rivalries among themselves accentuated. In Alorese culture the oldest sibling undoubtedly has the worst time of it; he is constantly being compelled to take on attributes of the maternal role as soon as he is able to do so. Although there is no routine about it he is generally expected to take care of the younger siblings while the mother is tending the gardens. The natural ambivalence of siblings toward each other must therefore be dulled. Such rivalry as does exist is tempered by gratitude and by the fact that they have common enemies and grievances.

The picture that we get, therefore, on the disciplinary side is again one of inconsistency and confusion. Whereas the child is masturbated as a palliative, a circumstance which would tend to accentuate sexual expression as a form of compensation for other frustrations, this activity is nevertheless later tabooed by implication or rendered impossible to translate into action. The situation as a whole favors a considerable amount of sexual repression which is undoubtedly breached in secret before or during puberty. From this, together with the strong motives for distrust and hatred of the mother and other women, we would expect the usual disturbances of potency. Moreover, in view of the fact that there is no reward system and that ingratiation techniques directed toward the father, who is actually in possession of the family power, are ineffectual, we would not expect any channeling of sexual impulses in homosexual directions. The fact is that homosexuality as such is not known either among women or men. The breast retains a high erogenous value both to children and adults. Castration threats are known but not employed exclusively for sexual misbehavior.

A final point is to be noted in connection with the general attitudes toward discipline. Frustration rather than punishment is the rule. This frustration takes on peculiar forms. False promises, lying, and misrepresentation must have consequences in at least two directions. They must lead first to a profound distrust of parents and elders, and secondly, to a lack of self-esteem. The poverty of the ego combined with depressed self-esteem is likely to lead to compensatory grandiosity. An additional factor which reinforces these attitudes is the general impermanence of everything, the constant change of abode that prevents the growth of a sense of familiarity and compels the child always to begin all over again. Perhaps the earliest expression of this anxious and helpless situation in childhood is the tantrum. To be sure, this is a form of assertiveness, but it is neither integrative nor constructive. (See Chart I.)

So far we have outlined the primary integrational units, adumbrating many factors which enter the life cycle later. Obviously, however,

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It is likely that these opportunities for both stealing and sex activity prevent the aggressions of early childhood from reaching explosive forms later.

It is not likely that the suppression imposed on overt forms of aggression or the gradual diminution in the use of obscene words injures the child in any way. However, it must be noted that the self-esteem of the child is in no way improved over what it was earlier in childhood; it still remains low. The child must still have the idea that it is a supernumerary, that it is of no account, for only grudgingly is the boy permitted to participate on the fringes of adult male activity. In this respect the position of the girl is distinctly better, but for reasons that we shall presently see, the prejudices accumulated in childhood do not make the maternal role acceptable to her.

ADOLESCENCE, MARRIAGE, AND SEX

From this point on, the basic personality structure of the males and females must be considered separately.

Induction into adulthood for the boy is not accompanied by any severe puberty rites to mark the introduction of new and serious restrictions. It is not infrequently the case in societies where puberty rites are severe that the boy is compelled to surrender certain advantages of immaturity and is given new ones that he heretofore did not enjoy. As a matter of fact, in Alor puberty does not introduce the boy to any strikingly new experience; on the contrary, it is the beginning of a long and arduous struggle for the achievement of manhood. The success of this achievement is vested largely in the father, who by virtue of his control over property—or of the opportunities for gaining control over it—can indefinitely delay the boy's entrance into manhood. Nor is there any necessity for binding the child to any rigid sexual taboos; these are left in the same status as in early childhood, that is to say, sexuality, as such, is permitted, but gaining status by marriage is rigidly under control. The theoretical advantage of free sexual play is thus actually canceled. The situation eventually arises where the father actually interferes, not with sexual gratification or the opportunities therefor, but with admission to the status of marriage. (See Chart III.)

In relation to his father the boy continues to operate under a system of coercions without rewards, notwithstanding the fact that the power of the father is only relative and the actual control of the subsistence economy is largely in the hands of the women. The status of the father becomes the envied objective of the boy.

In order to evaluate the boy's approach to a wife we must see those integrational systems which have already been formed by the time he

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therefore no surprise to learn that although the sexual impulse has not been seriously checked, the approach to the woman is filled with shyness and anxiety. It is a fact from the accounts of both men and women that it is the woman who makes the first advance. It is also significant that rape is very rare in this society. The feminine imago is bound to be associated with mother and breast, objects which he both longs to possess and fears. The attitude toward the woman is therefore controlled by two powerful forces: first, that the father can obstruct legitimate access to the woman, and second, that the woman herself is a source of anxiety.

In the face of this one may ask why there is not more male celibacy in the society. The answer probably lies in the effect of these influences upon ego ideal formation in the boy. He must derive an exaggerated idea of the value of potency — which incidentally is appreciated by the woman — but more important still, an enormously exaggerated idea of the value of status and wealth. The first represents the means of acquiring the good mother, the second the means of being equal to and opposing the despotic father. The goal of the man is fixed upon the reaffirmation of his self-esteem through the quest for wealth.

The difficulties and discomforts of a male's position cannot be overemphasized. It is interesting to note that in a society where there is a preponderance of women the actual incidence of bachelorhood is occasional, whereas no spinsterhood was observed. No wonder! The weakest must fail, but to cope with this failure society offers two possible solutions: evasion through bachelorhood, which is held in great contempt; and becoming the satellite of a more powerful male, which is merely a perpetuation of the state of childhood.

Although opportunities exist in childhood for the expression of sexuality, thereby diminishing the intensity of the Oedipus complex, the burden of conflict with the father comes in adolescence and in young manhood. By this time the boy has had too little opportunity to exercise any really effective aggression against his father, so that the expression through the quest of sexuality becomes the avenue of choice. It is not impossible to find that at this time a young man with serious sexual inhibitions makes violent gestures toward getting a wife.

As regards superego formation, it follows from the preceding description that it would of necessity be weak. The boy gets so few rewards for obedience that the threats of punishment cannot become very securely internalized. It is therefore no surprise to see that the two expressions of superego formation, religion and the technique of maintaining social cohesion, are not strong. There remain the sense

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155 of shame, which is really an external agent, and the sense of guilt, which depends upon the internalization of the good parental imago, the tonicity of which is maintained by the hope of being reinstated into parental grace. In this latter the young man has had exceedingly poor experience.

562 154 One final point must be mentioned in connection with the masculine ego ideal. The dependency upon the woman is all too well known. Hence the playing up of masculinity by exaggerating the importance of male financial activities is largely a way of denying dependency upon the woman.

[582] 155 The induction of the female into adulthood is much easier and is accompanied by fewer necessities for changes in attitude, and by fewer conflicts. Here too we must review the experience of the mother and her resentment of the maternal role, which she is prematurely asked to [557] undertake with the younger siblings. She will not be inclined to give children what she herself did not get. Her wish to abandon herself sexually to the man is filled with internal resistance. Likewise there is resentment at bearing children and caring for them, a fact that leads to two consequences, frequency of abortions and maternal neglect of children. This really completes the cycle. As far as the feminine ego ideal is concerned, the masculine role seems decidedly preferable. It is devoid of the arduous responsibilities and the actual hard labor that go with being a wife and a mother. (See Chart IV.)

832 Under these conditions it is not difficult to understand why it is that the female so frequently takes the aggressive role sexually. Actually this aggression by the female is largely through default on the part of the 581 male. Secondly, the status of marriage is, notwithstanding its hardships, infinitely more desirable to the woman than would be the state of spinsterhood. If the role of wife is accepted, the woman has some compen- [593] sations. She can actually dominate the male by threatening the withdrawal of food, and she can exercise a powerful check upon his infidelities by making the financial obligations associated with bride-price infinitely greater. As we have said before, the whole financial arrangement in connection with marriage acts as a powerful check in keeping the tottering structure of relations between the sexes in some kind of balance.

593 It is difficult to formulate any opinion about the attitude of the woman toward her father, and no consistent pattern emerges of her reactions to her possible importance in his financial schemes. From it she may derive some sense of importance. There is little evidence to prove one way or another the nature of the infantile attachment to the father.

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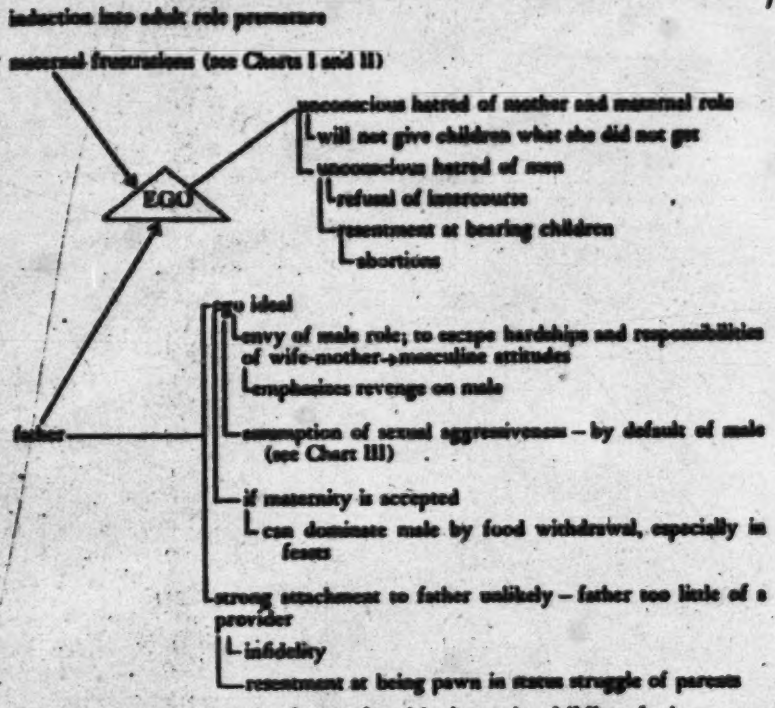
Chart IV. Adolescence, Marriage, and Sex (Females) 155


induction into adult role premature
maternal frustrations (see Charts I and II)
EGO
unconscious hatred of mother and maternal role
will not give children what she did not get
unconscious hatred of men
refusal of intercourse
resentment at bearing children
abortions
no ideal
envy of male role; to escape hardships and responsibilities of wife-mother → masculine attitudes
emphasizes revenge on male
father
assumption of sexual aggressiveness – by default of male (see Chart III)
if maternity is accepted
can dominate male by food withdrawal, especially in fetes
strong attachment to father unlikely – father too little of a provider
infidelity
resentment at being pawn in status struggle of parents

We may suppose it to be freer of ambivalence in childhood, since most 593 ●
of the prejudices against the parents come from the influence of the mother. It would appear that the female has a more comfortable internal adjustment. The actual control of the household lies in her hands. 562
She does not, however, have the nominal advantage of status. It is therefore theoretically possible to see two poles in female adjustments—the masculine type which exercises power largely by dominating the male through permitted channels and the feminine type which accepts the feminine role. Perhaps the chief source of woman's security is that by reason of a series of factors she is actually the most valuable object in the society. Few women, however, are likely to be in a position of internal security to enjoy this advantage.

PRESTIGE AND PERSONALITY

What we have described up to this point is the basic personality 155
structure of both sexes. No change occurs in it from this point on, for

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pig and a fine. Then the girl's family paid me a Kolmale [13-rupiah moko] for the pig I had got from Alomale.

November 26, 1938

When I was still small, I went to live in Dikimpe with Langmani [his father's first cousin]. I stood on the verandah and jumped down. I did it over and over again, shouting, "I am a rooster. I am a rooster."

I was still small and the people of Dikimpe went to make war with Atimelang; then they went to wage war with Alurkowati. The people of Dikimpe shot at Mauglo, and an arrow hit his belt. They dragged him to Dikimpe and danced. They said it was as though they had taken his head. They shouted triumph [*lakabiet*]. [Mangma laughed at this episode.]

I stayed in Dikimpe two years. Then I went to Ruataug, where my father lived. I and my older brother, Malelaka, played at war and threw cornstalks at each other. Once when I was about twelve and Malelaka was about fourteen, I was roasting corn. Malelaka told me to hurry up and take off the pot. I didn't. Malelaka snatched the pot off the fire, set it on my knee, and burned me. I cried. My father scolded Malelaka and said he was bad; when he grew up he would get no wife. Malelaka cried then, "Yeah, yeah, yeah, I am going to Fuimelang to live." He went and fetched some dry grass to burn down the village. I told my father he had better go out and stop him, that my wound was not so bad that he needed to stay with me. So my father went out and stopped him. The next morning my father got a plant called *febaboti* and put it on my knee. All the skin had come off. After a while my wound got better.

I said to Malelaka, "We aren't friends any more. We are enemies." I threw a burning stick at Malelaka's stomach. Then I ran and climbed a tree. Malelaka took a firebrand and threw it at me. It struck my back. I cried and my father began to chase him. Malelaka ran away and went to live in Karieta. After a while, maybe a year, we both forgot our quarrel and Malelaka came back to live with us. Our parents told us to stop fighting. We went together to cut the field at Ruataug.

[Why did you go to live with Langmani in Dikimpe?] Just because I liked him, because he took good care of me. Langmani had no wife. I was like his child. I followed him around, ran errands for him, getting areca, water, fire, tobacco, or whatever he sent me for. Whatever he asked I did. I was there alone with him. Langmani said, "My older brother has many children; you come and stay with me."

I had been with Langmani a year when Rilpada's father, Padakalieta,

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She said it was a chicken to raise, not to eat. Then mother cooked rice and added coconut meat and milk to it for the guests. After Mokolo left, father was angry and hit mother, cutting the side of her face. Mother got a big wound. Then father gave mother a leaf as memorandum [*doli*] and said, "In seven days you pay back my bride-price. We are going to separate." Then father went away and stayed in Dikimpe. In seven days mother went to fetch water and I followed her, crying. I heard people coming from Dikimpe beating gongs. Father came up and said, "This is my child." He had brought a Kafoi chief with him. Father took my hand. I told him I was following mother, who had gone to fetch water. Father picked me up and carried me with him as far as Kokovi. There we met mother carrying water. Father said, "Kolmau, go call your family so we can reckon our debts. If there is a surplus I shall pay it. But in any case I take my child." So mother called her kin in Dikimpe and Atimelang. They all came and reckoned. Father only owed a Maningmauk moko. So the chief of Kafoi said, "Oh, you don't have much of a debt. If you wanted to divorce you could pay it, but the fault is a little yours too; so get a moko and pay a fine for your fault [and don't divorce, was the implication]." So father got a Kabali moko and paid his fine. He shot a chicken to pay the judges. The judges said mother had better go live in Dikimpe with my father. So mother and I moved to Dikimpe to live there with father.

February 12, 1939

Once mother planted rain corn and two patches of taro down in the ravine. People kept stealing the corn. We didn't know who they were. So I and Mangma went down there to guard it. Many rats ate it. We slept in a field house up on the ridge above the gardens and all day watched for rats. A bird came; we both shot at it but missed it. In the evening we cut wood and went back up to the field house. We were dozing off when Mangma dreamed that two old men were sitting near by, one on the slope above the house and one below the house. One was a little like his father, Fankalieta. One had a long beard all the way down to his waist. The one who was below said, "Shall we take the house down to the garden below?" Mangma woke up, rubbed my stomach to wake me, and told me about it. Then that night we didn't sleep there. We went to the village. Early in the morning father looked down and saw us on the verandah. He asked why we had come back, so we told him. Father said we were to go back to the garden, make a spirit altar, and feed it. In the afternoon father came with rice and a small chicken to feed the altar. After that we slept again in the

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X159 At the present time Fantan seems to be sexually quite a mature and aggressive person. His attitudes naturally fall within the cultural mold. He tells boastingly of how eager women were to have him as a husband, although toward the end of his story he does not seem to be very sure about finding a new wife if the divorce from his present one goes through. There are the usual stories of being wanted by women, and the usual denials that he ever had anything to do with any woman other than his wife. However, a few slips of the tongue here and there indicate that Fantan is quite a philanderer and takes advantage of any opportunity that presents itself.

In his courtship with his present wife he shows himself to be aggressive; he wants to have intercourse with her before the legitimate time. She holds him up for a while until he has given a piece of cloth to her mother. Then they have intercourse. In his willingness to overlook payment regulations in order to satisfy his sexual desires, Fantan differs from every other man we have studied, although undoubtedly other men in the society were equally aggressive.

Much of Fantan's story is taken up with the current problem of whether or not he should get a divorce. He is reticent about his emotional relations with his wife. It is clear that his wife is much interested in him, but that the relations between them are constantly being spoiled by the interference of her relatives. Her parents are both living and since she is one of a large family, Fantan's relations with all of them are complicated. The resulting impression is that his relations with his wife are bad. However, in some of his wife's retorts during their quarrels, we have some indication of the root of the trouble as far as the wife is concerned. Fantan gives himself airs about being an educated man and apparently looks down upon his in-laws, so that his wife has acquired a feeling of inferiority toward him, while his in-laws try to exploit his education for their own ends. Fantan pictures himself as gallant toward his wife, since he never strikes her and he never philanders. On the other hand he has a tendency to exaggerate every trifling injury she inflicts upon him. This probably bespeaks a sense of guilt. He no doubt does philander but says, by implication, that he does so only when he wants to avenge himself on his wife. This is probably not true.

● [59] Fantan's marriage seems to be a typical Alorese marriage, with constant jealous quarreling and bickering about property. He is almost constantly on the verge of divorcing his wife, repeatedly separating from her and then being reconciled. It is undoubtedly on these occasions of separation from Tilamau that Fantan does a good deal of his

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159 band wanted to sleep with her and she was afraid. Makalaka stayed with us that night. When he left in the morning, Fuimai's mother and father came to us. They spoke nicely to her. She went back to her husband and slept with him after that.

When I was eight or nine years old, I went to stay in the house of the tumukun's father. Falepang was married to Atamau, who was an elder brother [classificatory] of the tumukun, Fanseni, and me. He wanted to sleep with her, but she ran away. She asked me to go sleep with her in an empty house at Warahieng. The next day some older people, including my mother, hunted for us. Mother asked me if I had brought my older sister [classificatory] there. I said, "No, her husband wanted to have intercourse with her, so she brought me here to sleep. It was dark when she asked me." Mother said, "Now we must go back to the village." Falepang's brother had come also and had spoken nicely to her, urging her to come home. We went back to sleep at the tumukun's house and Atamau had intercourse with Falepang. I slept with the tumukun and Fanseni in one place, and Atamau and Falepang slept in another. I said, "You have slept with your husband, so I am going to return to my village." [This was told rapidly and without pause.]

[593 833] [Do all young women refuse their husbands at first?] Yes, at first they never want their husbands.

When I was thirteen or fourteen, Matinglang [female] and I played together. We went to the garden. I asked for her digging stick, since there might be rats there. We dug for them and caught two big ones. Fanmau and Falepang were there too. I told them to sharpen two spits. Kolpada said, "You are lying," and I said, "No, it is true." So we sharpened two spits and roasted the rats there under the big mango tree. The women ate them all. Some of the older women were busy in the garden digging tubers, so we roasted tubers too. The older ones, Falepang and Fanmau, got the hindquarters. [This duplicated habitual male activity. Rat hunting was not forbidden to women but was not customary for them.] [462]

Once Matinglang called me to hunt rats. She set her dog on them. [Both informant and interpreter smiled at this imitation of adult male activities.] The dog started a rat, which I clubbed. Then the dog killed another rat himself. There were two of them. We gave them to Matinglang's mother, who cooked them for us, and we all ate them together. Our two mothers were working in the garden while we two played near them until nightfall.

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X 159 knuckles, and then I would feed her. [Why did she cry?] She cried because she was hungry. [This and the departure of the mother are stock explanations for children's crying.] Once we went to dig tubers with mother. Maliema cried, so I carried her home, hurried to light a fire, cooked, and fed her.

Once when mother and father were both gone, I cooked sweet potatoes in one pot and vegetables in another and set them aside for them. When the family came home their food was ready. I was just begin- [857] ning to cook then. I was eight or ten. If mother did not leave food, she would tell me to dig tubers. This I would do, and then I would prepare food for the family. At this age I was doing cooperative work in [857] the fields with my playmates, but I always took Maliema along and she played behind us in the fields. One day it was raining hard, so we decided to stay home and play all day. Then in a year we were big [actually about ten or twelve].

[Were you glad to grow up?] We used to say, "Now we are grown up and we have much work to do. It would be better if we were always children. When we were still small, we played like that [referring [883] to six-year-olds]." When I was about thirteen or fourteen [probably younger] the young men all used to say they would buy me. Fanlang said once, "This girl had better come to stay in our house." I asked him if he had a bride-price, and he answered that they had to make a feast, X 159 after which I had better marry his "father," Likma. Then Fanlang 584 asked me to inquire whether Matinglang wanted to marry him. I went to speak to Matinglang, and she said, "Good, that is fine. We shall live all in one house." At this time Likma had already asked Fanlang to act as his go-between. Fanlang and Likma lived in one house. Matinglang and I were friends. At this time I was still small and had not slept with any man. There has been only Likma. When father fed his sacred hearth, Likma brought a pig, and within the month I went to stay in his house. Fanlang also married Matinglang, but later they were divorced.

X 159 [Can you remember the first quarrel with your husband?] Likma and Helangmai's husband went off to dun someone for a debt. There was a dance at Rualmasang, and our husbands did not want to go. I and Helangmai went. The next morning our husbands came home and found us asleep on the verandah. They hit us because we had thus secretly gone off to the dance. They were angry that we had gone without ask- [593 ing them. [It was proper for a wife to have her husband's permission 562] before going to a dance.]

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159 ceed very well, we got forty baskets. Then Alurkaseni litigated against me and Fuimau because we had not paid for Matingkalieta's shroud. I used some rice to feed Alurkaseni. Then the former chief of Atimelang ordered me to go to Atafani and ask for the moko that he planned to sell for taxes. I was to promise to pay his tax for him if he gave me the moko. When Alurkaseni started to litigate, I called Atakalieta and Fanmai at Raugfui, saying, "We are only women. It is better if our menfolk come talk for us." They said their share of the death obligations had been paid and that Fuimau and I must pay for the shroud for Matingkalieta. I came back and told the chief what they had said. It was then that he told me to go get the moko from Atafani. I went to Atafani, and he gave it to me. I brought it back and gave it to the chief, who gave it to Alurkaseni. But Alurkaseni continued to stand there. He said that the owners of the shroud had not yet been fed. So I said, "Yesterday when I went to get the moko, you complained of being hungry when I returned. Then I brought down five corn bundles, and two of them I pounded and cooked, and the others I cooked without pounding. You ate only the pounded corn. Now if I go off and gather together the owners of the shroud so they can be fed, you will get hungry again." So he said, "All right, give me the food, and I can go give it to the various owners of the shroud." So I gave a serving basket of rice, and Fuimau gave one of corn and one of rice. He took the food to the owners of the shroud.

[I asked where her son was during these difficulties.] Oh, he was just a child. Letfani's son, Maipada [by another wife], was at Hiengmang when I went there for Atakalieta and Fanmai. Maipada also did not help me call people. Letfani was already dead. I had no husband at the time. Alurkaseni thought, "Now she has no husband. This is a good time to litigate for the payment of the shroud. Furthermore, if Fuimau dies, her children [all girls] will never pay for it. I had better get it now." That is what he thought.

March 31, 1939

I didn't dream.

When my oldest son was about seven and his brother Atamai was still small, I went to cut weeds. I didn't come back till dark. My husband, Langmai, was very angry, because he was minding the children and it was so late when I returned. He hit me with a club on the legs
● 193 and thighs. Then I wanted to take Atamai, but my husband wouldn't let me. He said, "Sleep alone. I'll mind my own child." So I slept alone

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April 4, 1939

X 159 [Kolangkalieta began with another rambling account of fetching food and inspecting her gardens, which she told in the form of a dream. She then paused and said, "Now let me think what I should talk about. I remember that once I went toward the coast to fetch kanari nuts." I asked her to continue with anecdotes about her daughter.]

Before Kolata married Padamai she was married to Padalang. She wanted to go to Kalabahi. She was busy sewing a sleeping mat, so she asked Padalang to roast some corn for her trip. Padalang had a headache at the time, but he was not very sick. He roasted the corn for her. Then an evil spirit appeared to Padalang in the form of Kolata going to fetch water. But it wasn't Kolata. It was an evil spirit. Padalang had intercourse with this spirit, thinking it was his wife. Then he looked about and saw that the water tubes and the woman had disappeared. He returned to the village. In three days he was dead. On the day that he thought he had intercourse with Kolata, she had left for Kalabahi. On the day he died Kolata returned. She came home and called to me, "Mother, let down the ladder. I shall come up for a while before going to my husband." She didn't know her husband was dying. I said to her, "All right, I'll let down the ladder, but you had better hurry because your husband is dead." Fuifani, who had accompanied Kolata to Kalabahi, had gone on ahead to the house. When she got there Padalang was still moaning. When she lifted his head he died. [Question.] Kolata had slept with him once. When he wanted to sleep with her again, she ran away from him. He used to watch the spring so he could grab her when she went for water. Probably the evil spirit heard of this and came to deceive him.

[I asked again about the informant's relationship to her daughter. It was extremely difficult to make her talk about herself.]

X 159 My husband, Langmai, slept with Falepangmale. His brother Letfani ● 593 was angry. He told Langmai he had better not live in Atimelang any more, that he had better go live in my village or stay in a camping place. Other people had slept with Falepangmale too. Letfani said, "If you don't leave now, I shall cut the strings of your side shield and your back shield." [This act was a symbol of rejection.] Still Langmai didn't go, X 159 so Letfani cut his shield strings. Then Langmai went with me to Hatoberka. When the soldiers came to Atimelang to carry off the people who hadn't paid taxes, they bound Letfani and took him off. They came to Hatoberka with him. A man told Langmai, who was sick at the time, what had happened. The man said they had better pay Letfani's

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
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food, but I saw many soldiers coming down the slope, so we all ran to hide in a small ravine. After that we decided we had better not stay in Feberka. Fuimau stayed, but I went on with the children. I hid there in the forest until an old woman came one day and said the soldiers had all left. We returned to our village, and so did all the other people. [Question.] This went on for about two months. When we got back, Letfani had also returned.

[Pause. I reminded her that she had not yet spoken of her other husbands or of her children by them.]

Padalang [her first husband] had given two mokos for me. That year I raised a lot of corn, over a hundred bundles. He ate them all up. I said, "Good, you can eat corn." But in my heart I didn't want him, so I came home. He followed and wanted his bride-price refunded. When we reckoned all my food, he got back only a Tamamia [worth 8 rupiahs]. Fanalang brought out all kinds of mokos and asked which he wanted. He took Alurkomai's Tamamia moko. At that time I already wanted to marry Langmai, but he said that he was married and that I had better go to his younger brother [Alurkomai], whose moko had been taken by my first husband. So I did.

That was a good year and everyone was cultivating large fields. We all went off to harvest rice. People called and said Alurkomai was dead. I went back to Atimelang and stayed at the Lonwati lineage house. Alurkomai was in the Molwati lineage house. When they buried him, I wanted to sever the cord, but Langmai said not to do it. I wanted to use medicine to keep Alurkomai's soul from following me, but Langmai said, "Do not do it. If you do, you will want another husband and will not want to stay here with us." So I stayed. Every day Langmai came and brought me areca nuts. Lonmale, his first wife, came to fight with me. She said, "If you marry my husband and sleep in my place, where shall I sleep?" I said, "I didn't search out your husband. He came to me." Tilaleti, my older sister, said, "You can't fight with my child [i.e., younger sister]. Fight with me. I am your size; she is still small." [595] Tilaleti wanted to fight for me, but I said, "No, let us go out to the dance place. I shall be the one to fight." I took off my anklets and bracelets and we fought. We fought until I knocked Lonmale down. Then I pulled her across the flat gravestones. We fought until Lonmale cried.

After I had given birth to the chief and to Fuifani, Lonmale died. Langmai wanted to marry Lomai. Her father had accepted a Tamamia moko from us. He said that Langmai could count that as a bride-price

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Three meals a day is the symbol of adulthood. It is significant that food as a status symbol should be used at the time that adult sex drives and financial responsibilities first become pressing.

This situation at the end of a long series of childhood experiences probably helps to set the wife as a mother figure. The wife, like the mother, is the responsible provider of food. A high degree of identification between the parent-child and husband-wife relation is actually conscious and valued in the culture. When older men lecture a young couple who have quarrelled, they invariably tell the young woman that she should be a mother to her husband and tell the young man that he should be a father to his wife. One of the strongest expressions of this sentiment was given by a young informant who may have made the identification a little more strongly than was customary.

> Wives are like our mothers. When we were small our mothers fed us. When we are grown our wives cook for us. If there is something good, they keep it in the pot until we come home. When we were small we slept with our mothers; when we are grown we sleep with our wives. Sometimes when we are grown we wake in the night and call our wives "mother."

The mother is definitely the provider but, as we have seen, she is an uncertain one in many cases. It is not surprising therefore to find the relationship between spouses a precarious and mistrustful one. Even though the whole weight of the masculine financial system acts to stabilize marriages, Atimelangers average approximately 1.9 divorces apiece. This seems a high average when one considers the elaborate and cumbersome monetary negotiations involved in divorce.

So far I have been concerned with sketching briefly some of the hunger experience of childhood, the associated restrictive disciplines of adults, and the devices through which the culture somewhat negatively permits children to satisfy this basic need. There has been some indication how all of these affect human relationships. I should like to turn now to a series of institutionalized food attitudes and behavior.

The first and most striking is sacrifice, which is a matter of almost daily experience, representing practically all relationships to the supernatural. The word for sacrifice means literally "to feed," and every supernatural object is so placated. Individual and village tutelary spirits, the graves of the dead, the spirits of ancestors who have cultivated a field, wealth-bringing supernaturals, are all given their share of chicken blood, rice, and pig meat. Realistically enough, the offering is small and purely symbolic. The bulk of the sacrificial food is consumed by the people. In myths the sky heroes are always fed rice, millet, and eggs. Their revivification is achieved by pouring a pot of millet over their heads. The building of lineage houses must be accompanied by feasts at every stage of construction, and its importance is proportional to the number of pigs slaughtered in the course of building it. Newly purchased gongs or *mokos*[4] must be fed. It is, in fact, difficult to find any aspect of religious and social ceremonial which does not involve "feeding." In this connection it is not without signifi-

[4] Metal kettle drums used as currency.